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THE
COLONIAL POLICY OF ENGLAND
EXAMINED.

BY EBENEZER TELLTRUTH:

OWING TO WHOSE PHILANTHROPIC LABORS,
MANY FACTS,

NOT GENERALLY KNOWN, ARE NOW MADE PUBLIC,

AND

MUCH INFORMATION IMPARTED,

OF THE

GREATEST IMPORTANCE

TO THE

FARMER, TRADESMAN, LABORER,

AND OTHERS OF THE PEOPLE.

"Would you be wise, then buy me."—*Old Play.*

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COLONIAL POLICY OF ENGLAND.

I. No country, in ancient or modern times, has ascended to the proud position in the scale of nations, occupied at this moment by Great Britain. She has possessions in every quarter of the habitable world; her broad flag waves over the strongest fortresses in existence; her army, amounting to nearly 500,000 men of all arms, is the most complete and efficient of the present time; her revenue is more than £70,000,000 annually; and her subjects exceed in number, those bending to the sway of imperial Rome, in her palmiest days.

As we look on this stupendous picture of greatness, the question naturally suggests itself to the mind, "how has England, in the brief space of a century and a half, ascended to her present position?" The "Latin Empire," the only one which, in any degree, bears comparison with that of Great Britain, for extent or population, was about eight hundred years in arriving at the pinnacle of its power. Its progress was slow, laborious, and difficult: whereas, that of England was the reverse. From a secondary position, among second rate powers, she almost suddenly became elevated to the first place among the nations of Europe—which elevation, as a consequence, was most undoubtedly only owing, in an inferior degree, to her victories, whether by land or sea. The true source of England's enormous power, is her still more enormous wealth. It was her money that enabled her hitherto to maintain fleets, to pay armies, to subsidise independent kingdoms, and to bind the nations of the continent, from time to time, in unions so compact and powerful, as to place insuperable barriers to the ambition of a Louis, a Napoleon, and a Nicholas.

II. Let it be assumed, that England's wealth is the true source of her power, and a second question then presents itself for examination, viz., how has she acquired that wealth? We answer, chiefly by her Colonial system of policy, at once the most complex, the most intricate, and the most subtle, ever pursued by any country, and tending in every way to make her great, rich, and powerful, to the prejudice, and at the expense, of her various dependencies in every part of the world.

Unlike philosophical Greece, England has not established Colonies for the benefit of those Colonies themselves, or merely for the single purpose of ridding herself of a redundant population, which otherwise must either have pauperised her, or driven her to become a marauding military power, similar to Denmark and Norway, in the middle ages, and to France, in the nineteenth century. She did

neither ; but, on the contrary, planted Colonies for her own especial benefit and profit ; and with subtle and far-seeing policy, made each and all of them, solely and pre-eminently, subservient to her own greatness, using them in turn as stepping stones to her present position.

Like the parents who beget children, for the sole and unnatural purpose of having servants for their necessities, or ministers for their pampered appetites, and without once contemplating their future establishment in life, or the great ends of human existence—so England, in planting a Colony, in fact but opened up a new market for her own goods, and a new field of patronage for the Minister of the day ; nor was it at any time for a moment her intention, that the monopoly in either case should ever be taken out of her hands. Hence the main features of her Colonial legislation has always been, to preserve the balance of trade in her own favor, and against her Colonies ; and thus she effected the double purpose of keeping them poor, and consequently dependant, and of enriching herself. That these objects have ever been the most prominent ones in every branch of her Colonial policy, we shall now proceed to show.

III. Charles the 2nd, on his restoration, found the principle of absolute Colonial dependance already interwoven with the Constitution. The “Long Parliament” had explicitly declared the complete dependance of the Colonies upon the Mother Country. Maxims were thus introduced, which at once received the sanction of the Courts of Westminster Hall, and were accordingly interwoven with the fabric of English law. The decisions of the Judges ruled, that the American and other Plantations were included within the pale of British dominion and legislation, and were therefore affected in the same degree, as Great Britain herself, by Acts of Parliament, **ALTHOUGH UNREPRESENTED IN THAT PARLIAMENT.***

The new House of Commons not only determined to retain the system of Colonial policy which the “Long Parliament” had introduced, but likewise to mature and extend it, in order to render the Colonies completely subject to Parliamentary government, and exclusively subservient to the interests of English commerce and navigation. In furtherance of these objects, no sooner had Charles ascended the throne, in 1660, than a duty of five per cent. was imposed on all merchandize exported from, or imported into, any of the Colonies belonging to the Crown ; and the same session, in producing the Navigation Act, established the most memorable and important branch of the Colonial policy of England. This celebrated statute, in addition to many other provisions, enacted, that no foreign commodities should be imported into the British settlements, in Asia, Africa, or America, or exported from thence, but in English built vessels ; that no sugar, tobacco, cotton, or other staple commodities, produced or manufactured in the Colonies, should be shipped from them to any other country than England ; and to insure the perfect observance of this last clause, it also enacted that the shippers should be obliged to give bonds, with surety proportioned to the tonnage of the vessel.†

* Freeman's Reports, p. 175. † 12 Car. 11, cap. 4.

In 1663, this Act was enlarged, and additional restrictions imposed by a new law, which prohibited the importation of European commodities into the Colonies, except in vessels laden in England, and manned and navigated by British subjects. Large penalties were established, to secure the due observance of this law, and the principle was now fully avowed, in a public declaration, that the Colonies founded by England, ought to be retained in a firm dependance upon her, and obliged to contribute to her advancement, in the employment of English shipping, the vent of English goods or manufactures, and the conversion of England into a settled mart or emporium, not only as regarded the productions of her own Colonies, but also of such commodities of other countries, as those Colonies themselves might stand in need of.* The Parliament likewise assumed the prerogative, of regulating the trade of the several Colonies with each other; and as the Navigation Act had left them at liberty to trade among themselves without duty, this exemption, in 1672, was withdrawn, and a tax levied, equivalent to that collected on their commodities in the English ports.

In these several Acts of Parliament, we have the basis of England's Colonial policy at once bared to our view—a policy, which common sense and every-day experience tell us, can only be practised with impunity during the feebleness of Colonial infancy—in which state of helplessness, therefore, it has always been the wisdom of her statesmen to keep her several dependencies—a policy, which gives to her merchants a gigantic monopoly, and creates at the same time, as Adam Smith tells us, a fictitious and unhealthy revenue, dangerously liable to obstruction and derangement—a policy, we say, which engenders in every union it establishes, the germs of adverse principles, the progress of which must ultimately lead to its dissolution. Because, it obliges the parent to draw the reins of government tighter, as maturity approaches, and to exercise a degree of unnatural authority, which must sooner or later drive its offspring into rebellion, the only mode left it, of asserting its right to rational self-government.

IV. Having now become acquainted with the principal objects of the Colonial and dependency policy of England, the next course for us to pursue, is to trace the operation of this policy, in order to become aware of the influence it exercises upon the interests of other countries, and especially upon those of our own.

The operation of the Colonial policy of England, with regard to her American Colonies, is too well known and too generally understood, to require in this place either comment or illustration at our hands: let us turn then, for a brief space, to the opposite side of the globe, and examine what it has been there.

With respect to India, England has pursued, with some slight modifications, a course similar to that which she adopted towards her Colonies on this continent—one is a transcript of the other. Scarcely had she established herself firmly in Hindoostan, than she at once instituted a complete monopoly in her own favor, and sedulously

* 15 Car. 11, cap. 7.

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carried out, a commercial and finance system, which has impoverished one of the richest countries in the world, and poured its wealth, either into her own imperial coffers, or into those of the merchant princes of Leadenhall street. Turn we to the pages of Anglo-Indian history, and what sickening details do they supply! Usurious monopoly interwoven with moral and physical injustice, meet the eye at the beginning, the middle, and the end of every chapter—it is the burden of every paragraph, and every period is redolent of it. There is monopoly of the silk trade, of sugar, of indigo, of cotton, of labor, of the staple articles of food, and last though not least, of the profits of idolatry.* Fraud, injustice, oppression, start up like phantoms to affright us, from every page, as we read, and force us to the conclusion, that none but unenlightened, plodding slaves, as the Hindoo-stankees generally are, would patiently submit to the working of a system which grinds them to the earth, and the result of which, as the erudite Sir John Malcolm says, has been to ruin every branch of native industry, for the benefit of the English manufacturer, whose wares are now for sale in every corner of that huge empire, from Ceylon to the Himalaya, and from Arracan to Scinde.

From India, reader, turn your attention to Ireland, to her Colonies in New Holland, to the Cape of Good Hope, to Jamaica, and to the various other dependencies of Great Britain—review carefully, one by one, the condition of each, and then answer the question honestly, has any of them grown rich and powerful, or even respectable, under her dominion? Your answer must be, not one! All their surplus wealth has been annually drained into English coffers, and the prominent features of their several histories are—not prosperity and contentment; no!—but on the contrary, special monopoly, with few exceptions, general poverty, and bad government. Scarcely a year passes without witnessing the existence of rebellion in some one of Great Britain's Colonies. The year 1848, for instance, witnessed five rebellions against English authority, viz., one in New Zealand, a second in India, a third in the Cape of Good Hope, a fourth in Ceylon, and a fifth in Ireland; and at this moment Jamaica is in a state little short of rebellion—the Assembly having refused to grant the necessary supplies for the support of Government. Reader, this is a fearful condition of affairs, but remember, it is not the less true because it is so. We do not want you to take our statements for gospel: our object is to originate a spirit of inquiry within your breasts. Examine for yourselves, analyze facts, trace results to their causes; and when you have done all this, as we have done—when you have examined the whole chain of England's Colonial policy, link by link, until you come down to the present moment, you must then agree with us, that that policy is selfish, unjust, arbitrary, and oppressive.

Has Ireland, the most fertile, the richest in natural resources, and the healthiest of all England's dependencies, grown rich or prosperous under her sway? Not she, indeed; on the contrary, she has become

* The East India Company levies a tax on the pilgrims to the Ganges. They also levy a tax on those who resort to the idol temple of Juggernaut—which temple they themselves support, at a cost of £60,000 sterling per annum.

miserably poor—a perfect chaos of social evils—a bankrupt to herself, and an anomaly among the nations of the earth. By fraud and corruption, that unhappiest of countries has been filched of one manufacture after another. Direct legislation, or all-powerful combination on the part of English merchants, has robbed her of her woollen trade, of her linen trade, and finally of her agricultural profits. Despite the advantages of cheap labor, and great natural facilities of commerce, the Irish capitalist found it was useless to establish a business in his native country; for should he, even in the face of unfriendly legislation, meet for a time with partial success, the English manufacturer was sure to step into the ranks arrayed against him, and by combination, to undersell him in his own market—thus effecting his ruin, or at the best compelling him to wind up his affairs, and discontinue business.

This want of success in trade of the Irish as a people, cannot surely be owing to a national business incapacity, which facts clearly prove does not, nor has never existed. During the independence of their Parliament, trade and manufactures were exceedingly prosperous; and now Irish capitalists go over to England, establish business there, and are almost invariably and eminently successful. It has also been very lately proved before a committee of the Imperial Parliament, that the Irish in America are found in general to be industrious, and to possess good capacities for business, many of them becoming eminent merchants, able conductors of newspapers, and upright Magistrates. Glance for a moment at the annals of Irish literature, and what a superb array of talent do they present! There is Swift, Burke, McLane, (the author of Junius' Letters,) and a host of others, who occupy the first positions in the ranks of genius and learning. With all these indisputable facts before us, we must come to the painful conclusion, that the want of success of the Irish at home, in trade and commerce, is not owing to incapacity on their part, or to unfitness for business; but, on the contrary, to the jealous enactments of English law, and the, (if possible,) still more jealous combinations of English capitalists, against Irish manufactures.

V. Such then is the operation of the Colonial policy of England, as propounded and laid down by her Legislature. It still remains for us to examine the general line of conduct pursued by successive Ministers, in enforcing the principle of absolute Colonial dependence which it imperatively inculcates.

We assert, that the Executive policy of England has been equally as unjust and as arbitrary as that of the Legislative. For, in the first place, it was the object of Minister after Minister to keep the Colonies as long as possible in a state of infancy and helplessness. In the second, that when, in the natural order of things, and in accordance with the laws of human progress, they were emancipated from this stage of existence, it was unceasingly sought to suppress and eradicate every principle and symptom of self interest, by an undue and tyrannical exercise of parental authority. Thirdly, that when maturity, despite all these adverse circumstances, had at length arrived, and a natural desire for self government and self control was originated, the principle

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of absolute Colonial dependence on the Mother Country was still carried out—first, by the creation of parties, and of adverse interests; and, secondly, by sowing dissension between those parties, and those interests, and rendering their passions, their prejudices, and their antagonism, wholly subservient to English interests, to the sinister purposes of Ministerial intrigue, and to the propping up of a corrupt and selfish system.

To prove the soundness of our first and second positions, we have only to direct the attention of the reader to English history, and to the various Acts of Parliament framed, from time to time, by English Ministers, which affect or affected the Colonies, and some of which we have already noticed. It is to our third position that we especially wish to direct attention, namely : the creation of parties, by Ministers, and the sowing dissension between those parties.

In India, the most extensive, the most populous, and the richest of all England's dependencies, Clive's comprehensive system of policy, based upon universal and entire subjection, has been the guiding star of each and all of his successors. The principal feature of that policy was, the creating division between the Hindoo and the Mahometan ; or, at the least, fanning the flame of differences already existing, into a blaze ! thus forcing them into deadly conflict, until they exhausted alike their resources and their strength. In this way each in turn became an easy prey to the arms of England, who, owing to this crafty system of policy, became, in an incredibly short space of time, the dominant power, from the Himalaya to the southern extremity of Hindooostan.

The rebellion of the Mahometan has been suppressed by the Hindoo, acting under the influence of British intrigue ; and the rebellion of the Hindoo, by the Mahometan. To make ourselves acquainted with the condition of affairs resulting from this state of things, let us glance for a moment at the pages of the impartial and right minded Gleig, himself an Englishman.

" All the institutions of that great country," says this honest historian, speaking of India, " have been either overthrown, or so completely remodelled as to have entirely lost their value, in the eyes of the people. There is scarcely an office of trust, profit, responsibility, or honor, to which a native can aspire. 100,000,000 of people are dealt with as if there was not an honest man among them ; and we remind them, when all this is done, of the blessings they derive from our authority." * * * * * " Our countrymen proceed to India, either as traders or in some official capacity ; but the objects they have in view are, in either case, the same, namely : to acquire wealth, to spend in another country. Let any thinking person consider how such a state of things is likely to operate among the multitude who are treated as mere instruments, by which the favored few are to be enriched." *

Such is the testimony of an impartial English historian, with regard to the Anglo-Indian policy of his countrymen. But he might have

* Gleig's History of British India, vol. 4, p. 218.

gone further, and told us, in addition, that while the Mahometans were in a position to command respect, they were feared, courted, and flattered. Their dynasties once crushed—their *prestige* destroyed—the superior numbers of the Hindoos rendered them of more political importance; and accordingly they are taken forthwith into the favor of the Anglo-Indian Government. Lord Ellenborough, in playing the part of a second Julian, by the endeavor to restore the idol temple of Somnauth—the supposed gates of which he dragged from the tomb of Mahmood the iconoclast* at Ghuznee, to India—was simply following up the course pursued by his predecessors, and only erred in making the measure too public.† The Mahometans had ceased to be of much political importance: the case was the reverse, as regarded the Hindoos; and in gratifying the stronger at the expense of the weaker, he but acted in accordance with established principle and usage. His Lordship was informed that the system had worked well hitherto, in India: he was himself sufficiently grounded in history to know it had succeeded to a miracle, in Ireland; and he may now, if he will, contemplate its operation, *semper idem eadem*, in Canada, with the eye of a philosopher.

Did any of you, my readers, ever peruse the excellent work of Captain Hall, on the operation of British policy in India—a work which, if we recollect aright, met the approval of even Majesty itself, in the person of William IV. If you have read that book, you must know all about what is termed the “*SUBSIDIARY SYSTEM*,” the principal features of which are:—the first involving native Princes in the meshes of political intrigue, which hampers them so, that to free themselves, they are driven either to assault or to resist British authority; and thus become apparently, what they never in reality are, the aggressors.‡ Craftily drawn into acts of aggression, they are beaten in the field, as a matter of course; and are then compelled to receive British troops into their territory, on pretence of protecting them, but in reality to watch their movements, and check them, should they be hostile. Their own troops, in the meantime are disbanded, and from henceforward they become merely the civil heads of their several principalities; their power being restricted to the exercise of judicial and financial authority. But British policy does not stop even here. By a secret machinery which it knows, from long experience, so well how to put into operation, the revenue of these Princes, (out of which they have to pay the troops quartered on them,) are caused to fall into disorder. The people are next made to complain of undue exactions; and the Anglo-Indian Government institutes an inquiry—the invariable result of which is, that the management of the estates of these Princes is taken into its own hands: the rightful owners receiving in future, only a small portion of their own money, by way of pension.

But these, and a host of others of the same kind, are not the only evils which British rule entails upon India. In the true spirit of despo-

* For his History see Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, vol. 5, p. 530.

† Vide General Order of the Governor General of India, dated Simla, 16th November, 1842. ‡ This was exactly the case, as regarded the Seikhs.

tism, it exhibits itself opposed, or, at the very least, utterly indifferent to the progress of Christian knowledge or information.* It is an established theory with the potentates of the India House, that the general diffusion of knowledge, and the consequent moral regeneration of the benighted natives of Hindooostan, must first take place, before their power there can be overturned.† Hence, as is well known, the Anglo-Indian Government have never been favorably disposed towards Missionary labor. It does not now oppose it openly, it is true; but then it sets innumerable under currents at work to counteract its effects,‡ and contributes a much larger sum for the maintenance of idol temples, and Mahomedan ziarets, than it does for the support of its Christian churches.

Such, then, is England's Executive policy in India. Let us next look, for a brief space, at what it has been in her American Colonies, anterior to the Revolutionary War. And here, too, we find faction and dissension in existence. "The disunion," says Grahame, "between the provincial communities, was a favorite consideration among the English politicians, who were averse to American independence. They knew that the natural progress of society in America, was towards independence; but they hoped that it would yet be long retarded, partly by British *policy*, and partly by the absence of united counsel and fellow feeling between the several Colonial communities."||

For a length of time prior to the Revolutionary War, the country was over-run with the creatures of the Minister of the day, whose business it was to create divided interests, and to report the progress of public opinion, apart from the execution of various minor offices. Acting upon the representations of these men, and also upon those of their other officials, the British Cabinet definitely determined upon two measures—one of which was to plunder the people of their property by unconstitutional taxation, and the other to prevent all interior extension of the Colonies.§ Those measures were looked upon then, as the two great links which were to firmly bind the latter to the Mother Country. Hence the "Board of Trade and Plantations," in 1759, when making their report to the Privy Council, reminds it of a previous report made by them, immediately after the treaty of Paris, and which was approved of and confirmed by his Majesty—the purport of which

* We have an example of the tender regard of English Statesmen, in the conduct of Seymour, William III. rd's Attorney-General, who objected to a College in Virginia, on account of the expense. He was reminded, that the people there, had souls to be saved, as well as in England. "Souls," said he, "damn your souls—make tobacco."

† Despots of every age, and every country, have always been opposed to the progress of information. Charles II. in 1683, prohibited any person in Virginia from employing a printing press, on any occasion, or under any pretence whatsoever. In the same spirit, the slave owner forbids the education of the Negroes.

‡ Missionary records of British India, p. 25 and 49.

|| History of the United States, vol. 4, p. 138.

§ If we examine carefully the current of events, we will at once see that the British Cabinet, at this moment, is averse to the increase of the population in the Canadas, where there is plenty of room for every individual in the United Kingdoms—all that is required, is a proper system of emigration. The Home Government holds, that if we become rich and populous, we must become independent.

was, the confining the western boundary of settlements in America, to such a distance from the sea coast as would effectually serve to keep them within the reach of the trade and commerce of the Mother Country, and the exercise of that authority and jurisdiction requisite to preserve them in subordination to, and in dependence upon her.

In pursuance of its policy, the Home Government cautiously commenced its assumption of extraordinary prerogative and power, by the interfering in local matters of the most petty character. In its instructions issued, (according to its practice, at intervals, to all its officials,) to Benning Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, in 1761, after prohibiting him from assenting to any law calculated to obstruct the importation of Negro slaves* into the province, it commanded that he should allow no person to teach a school, without first having obtained his license; or, should he be an emigrant, the license of a bishop. It likewise negatived an act, passed by the Assembly of Massachusetts, incorporating a society for promoting Christian knowledge among the Indians; which scandalous conduct on its part, was owing to the representations of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a portion of the English clergy.

It is not necessary for us, here, to follow British Ministers through their various unconstitutional assumptions of power to legislate, by Acts of Parliament, for the American Colonies. Neither will the space we have allotted to ourselves, permit us to examine the Stamp Act, the Declaration Act, and other Acts, which aimed at depriving them of the chartered and unalienable rights of British subjects, and of subjecting them to a Government, in which they were unrepresented. We can only add, in the language of an eminent English writer of this century, "The period of maturity had arrived, and accordingly the final resort of the Minister, exemplified in the Latin saw, *divide et impera*, was had recourse to, in agreement with established usage." *

* * * * * "Happily, however, for the interests of mankind in general, and of England herself, that party favorable to the soil prevailed. Self-government produced its legitimate fruits, and (mark the contrast,) the United States, from comparatively poor, ill treated, and dependant Colonies, suddenly exhibited themselves to the gaze of the civilized world, as a great, rich, and powerful people."

But of all the countries dependant upon England, the condition of none of them so aptly illustrates my argument, as that of Ireland, for the past two hundred years, and at this moment.

"The position of that island," says her apologist, Barrington, "upon the face of the globe, peculiarly fits her for universal intercourse. Situated at the western extremity of Europe, she would be able to intercept the trade of the New World from all other nations. The merchandise of London, of Liverpool, and of Bristol, skirts her shores, before it reaches its own destination; and some of the finest harbors in the world invite her inhabitants to intercept the trade of India, and form the emporium of Europe."

* The first cargo of slaves, ever taken from the coast of Africa, for the use of the American Colonies, was in an English vessel, fitted out for that purpose by an association, and commanded by an English Baronet, Sir John Hawkins. At the above time, the traffic was one of immense emolument to British shipowners.

But with all these advantages, in addition to a delightful climate, and exceedingly fertile soil, owing to commercial jealousy, and unconstitutional Government, the year 1779 found Ireland reduced to almost the lowest ebb of misery. English intrigue had extinguished her manufactures, and robbed her of her commerce : public and individual bankruptcy was of every day occurrence : a universal feeling of despondence had seized alike upon the Protestant and the Roman Catholic ; and a huge tide of emigration, as at this moment, rolled towards the shores of the New World.

The struggles of America, however, for freedom, at length awakened the people of Ireland as from a trance : they beheld the contest with deepest interest, and regarded with admiration, the struggles of the Colonies there, to establish their right to the first principles of civil liberty.

At this time Poyning's Act was still in operation. This statute restrained the Irish Parliament from originating any law whatsoever, either in the Lords or Commons. Before any statute could be discussed by them, it had first to be submitted to the Lord Lieutenant and his Privy Council, for their consideration ; and they had the power, either to reject it altogether, or transmit it to England, for the approval of the Attorney-General and Privy Council there. These latter had also the power to suppress the bill, or to model it to their pleasure, and then return it to the Irish Parliament, with permission to pass it into a law. Statutes were frequently returned from England, so altered as hardly to retain a single feature of their original purport.

Such was the degrading condition of the Irish Parliament, before Grattan and his peers awoke it to a true sense of its dishonor. Roused by their startling eloquence and representations, the PROTESTANT volunteers of Ireland determined on freeing themselves from the incubus which weighed them down—their exertions to accomplish this object, being warmly seconded and supported by their Roman Catholic brethren. The benefits resulting from this harmonious state of things, soon became evident. England was obliged to concede the demands of her sister island : the Irish Parliament was declared altogether independent, and left perfectly at liberty to consult its own welfare ; and what was the result ? Like America, Ireland soon became rich and prosperous.*

Rivalled in her trade, and baffled in her policy, by Statesmen wiser, although not so crafty as her own, England, after a short breathing time, sedulously, applied herself to recover the vantage ground she had lost. To effect this object she had only one course to pursue, and that course was, to separate the Irish people by dissension—to sever the union existing between Protestant and Roman Catholic, by the revival of former feud and antagonistic feeling. History informs us she was too successful. Volunteer associations declined before her

* The reader must bear in mind, here, first, that Ireland was united : secondly, that self-government then ensued : thirdly, that the prudential acts of that Government restored to her, for a brief space, trade, commerce, and wealth. By allowing herself to be divided, she again lost all these advantages. Canada is divided, at this moment.

baneful efforts ; and in their stead, and as the children of her ince-
tuous intrigues, appeared the Peep o' Day Boy, and the Irish Orange-
men—both heretofore unknown ; and whose several acts gradually
spread the flame of disunion wider and wider. Events rapidly fol-
lowed upon the heels of each other. The subtle and expert politicians
of England, versed, from long experience, in Machiavelian intrigue,
proved more than an overmatch for the public men of Ireland—the
greater part of whom, indeed, had not virtue enough to resist the
tempting offers of the British Cabinet. Protestant and Catholic were
placed in direct antagonism ; the Irish Rebellion of 1798 broke out,
and the union was consummated.

Up to this epoch, reader, the Irish were exceedingly prosperous, as
a nation. Let us now look at the contrast.

Deprived of her Parliament—of the right of self-government, Ire-
land was soon plundered of her trade, *and despite her favorable position
for commerce, shortly dwindled down into a purely agricultural country,
and the granary of manufacturing and wealthy England.** Meanwhile
law after law have been enacted, ostensibly for her benefit, but in real-
ity, militating, in some way or other, against her interests ; and we
now behold her in even a worse position by far, than that from which
she was rescued, in 1782, by the Volunteers—an anomaly among the
nations, and her people starving in the midst of plenty. *Such are the
blessings derivable from dependence on England.*

In allowing the discontent of the Irish to break out into open rebel-
lion, by which thousands of her subjects lost their lives, England play-
ed a deep and a desperate game : it was her last stake ; but the loyalty
of the Irish Protestants enabled her to be the winner. Deeply their
debtor, it was but natural to suppose she would not be ungrateful, and
would repay them in some shape, for the immensely important service
they had rendered her. Such, however, was not the case. No !!
She pandered to the prejudices of the too devoted Orangeman—the be-
ing of her own creation, for her own purposes. She stirred up the
fears and apprehensions of the mere Protestant : arrayed both on her
side—used them while she wanted them ; flattered them, courtier like,
for a brief space afterwards, and then, when their loyalty was no long-
er useful, pushed them aside, in order to receive the Roman Catholics,
(now become a numerous and formidable body,) into favor.

Here was gratitude for past favors with a vengeance ! But England
did not stop even at this point of her career—not she, indeed!!! The
demands of the Irish Repealers rendered it necessary to fling them a
bone to pick ; but mark ! that bone was not taken out of her own
stores : on the contrary, it was abstracted from the side of her Protes-
tant allies. The Orange Lodges were all suppressed : their meetings

* England is always overflowing with money : the question there, is, how to
employ it to advantage ? On the contrary, money is uncommonly scarce in the
Colonies ; which, nevertheless, are part and parcel of the same empire. This must
surely be the result of a system, and not of local causes ; for the revenue of Eng-
land has grown with her Colonies. According to Hume, in 1604 the whole cus-
toms of England was only £127,000. Now they amount to very many millions
sterling.

declared illegal, and placed on a par with those of the Whitefoot and the Ribbonman, and their members were expelled the Police force, and forbid the Army and Navy. The "Municipal Bill" next turned the Protestants out of all the Corporations, to make way for the Roman Catholics, who, at this moment, as we ~~were~~ fill almost every situation in the country. Meanwhile, England objects have been accomplished. She had a long account to balance with the Protestants: they had wrung a free Parliament from her, and might do so again; besides, they were an intelligent and independent class, who would not willingly submit to despotism. So she crushed them first. The Repealer was next woed into his own ruin, and shared a similar fate. "Conciliation Hall" is now a chapel of ease, and a bye-word: the Young Irelanders have been snuffed out, and all Ireland, from the highest aristocrat to the meanest peasant, now lie bowed down and prostrate at the feet of haughty and selfish England, who can gaze, with what feelings she best may, on the mighty and astounding ruin and misery she has herself caused.

And now, fellow Colonists of Canada West, let us turn aside from the examination of England's Colonial policy touching other countries, to bring the question home to ourselves, to our families, and to our firesides, and what do we find? Have you been more favored, or regarded more favorably, than the other Colonies of Great Britain? You! who turned the tide of victory in her favor, even in an unrighteous war, and with stubborn and indomitable valor, repelled the trained armies of the United States! You! who clung to her, in evil report and good report, alike! You! who, eminently loyal, came forward, in 1838, almost as one man, at her demand, to support and enforce her authority, and to preserve the integrity of her power. Have you, we say, who have done all these things, been more favored, or regarded more favorably, than England's other Colonies? We tell you, you have not!! On the contrary, you have been, with all your displays of loyalty, looked upon as too independent in your views, and as indulging too great a predilection for republicanism; and have been treated accordingly, with jealous and watchful distrust. 1845 saw a standing army of 14,000 men scattered among the Canadas. That army was not, surely, to guard you against the Americans, from whom you were well able to guard yourselves. What was it here for, then? James II. and all other despots, have been, and ever will be, advocates for the maintenance of standing armies. You have troops in the very midst of you at this moment—to protect you from the Indians, perhaps! Pshaw!!!

Is not, fellow Colonists, the history of the American Colonies, the history of India, the history of the Cape of Good Hope,* and the history of Ireland, one and all but transcripts of our own? Do not its scanty pages tell us of the same restrictions on trade and commerce; of the same navigation laws, and of the same monopoly, internal and external, which kept and keeps them poor and dependant provinces? The scene has only shifted—every act throughout the plot, is

* In nearly all the British Colonies, the censorship of the press, by the Governments of them, exist. Some few years ago, a public paper was suppressed in the Cape, for commenting on the acts of the Governor: W. Pringle was the Editor. Another paper, a short time since, was suppressed in the Carnatic.

the same. First, there is the weakness and utter helplessness of infancy : entreaty and prayer marks this stage of existence. Next comes on a late and sickly youth, which has just sufficient perception to discern dimly the injuries which has retarded its growth. Ill defined murmurings and complaints are now heard—to quiet which, quack nostrums and patent medicines are prescribed ; but no wholesome physic is given. By-and-bye, in agreement with the laws of natural progress, long kept back, maturity comes on : the parent still seeks to hold her offspring in leading strings, to prevent it from using its ripened faculties for its own welfare. And the third act finishes, with party division, partial rebellion, and unnatural union. *What the fourth and concluding act will be, time and ourselves must determine.*

The entire system of Colonial Policy pursued by English Statesmen, from the establishment almost of her first settlement up to this moment, fully proves, that in effecting the union of Upper and Lower Canada—a union into which one province was humbugged, and the other bullied—she did not look honestly for the prosperity of either. Both those provinces had arrived at maturity—at a period when the desire for self-control and Responsible Government, was natural and laudable. Something must be done, therefore, to quiet their demands, and that something was, to give them, indeed, the boon they sought for ; but it was given in the spirit which prompted the Declaratory Act, and clogged with the union of two races, dissimilar in interests and religion ; which union, consequently, contained within itself, all the elements of violent and lasting dissension and strife, and rendered the concessions made virtually valueless.

In effecting the union of the two Canadas, the "Home Government" affirmed, it was but acting in agreement with the spirit of Lord Durham's Report. Now, reader, we will show you it did no such thing ; but, on the contrary, acted in direct opposition to that Report, and was consequently guilty of the customary amount of falsehood, and prevarication, which usually characterises the measures originating with the Colonial Office. The spirit of Lord Durham's Report is as follows :—The root of the evil in Lower Canada, is in the difference of races arraying the people in bitter and enduring hostility against each other. The distinction in language, education, and religion, is not softened down by social intercourse : they seldom meet in society ; each have their own Banks and Hotels. They inherit, in an exaggerated degree, the peculiarities of their origin. Every political difference may be traced to the same source—the contest of these races.

Now, will any person of common sense suppose, that these evils, or even the least of them, could be removed by a union ? It has already existed for eight years, and has the French Roman Catholic yet merged into a Scotch, English, or Irish Protestant, or the Protestant into a French Roman Catholic ? Has one jot of their former causes of hostility been removed ? Not one ! Differences and antagonism are just now as ripe as they were ten, twenty, or three hundred years back. Until the men who effected the union can show, that they have removed the broad landmark—the clear and well defined line of demarcation which separates the two races—then, and not till then, can we believe they acted upon Lord Durham's Report. If they cannot do this—and who will presume to say they can—then, we assert, that the true object of the Colonial Office, in uniting Upper Canada, essentially Protestant, to Lower Canada, essentially Roman Catholic, was, to place the grounds of difference and animosity on a more gigantic scale than ever, in order to weaken the entire population of both races, by their dissensions, so that the Mother Country might govern them the more easily.

Let us look at the question in another point of view. Let it be admitted, that the Minister did not, in reality, act upon Lord Durham's Report ; and that his real object was, to govern Lower Canada, *disloyal*, with the aid of Upper Canada, *loyal*. Then, we ask, why is not the loyalty of the latter at as high a premium now, as it was in 1838 ? and why has rebellion then, become loyalty now, and the stepping stone to office and emolument ? Irish loyalty was very precious to England, in 1798—so was Canadian loyalty, in 1838. Subsequently, Irish loyalty fell to par—so did Canadian ; and both are now in the market, at a tremendous discount. Open your eyes, Orangemen, Episcopalian, and Protestant dissenters ! use the faculties God has given you, and you may once for all see, that England does not regard her Colonists as *bona fide* subjects ; and that she does not care one pin about your unshaken loyalty, or your religion, save when she can use

them as her tools, to further her own projects. So long as they suit her views, Orangemen, Roman Catholics, Episcopalian, or Dissenters, are all equally acceptable to her. With equal readiness she endows the Irish Colleges, Oxford, Cambridge, or the Hindoo temple of Juggernaut.

In presenting us with Responsible Government, the ostensible language of the British Ministry was—Now, people of Canada, we have conceded your demands: you are, therefore, in the fullest enjoyment of the rights of British subjects: you can make your own laws, and establish your national credit on the firmest basis. This was all very good, but let us get, for a moment, as Sam Slick has it, behind the scenes: let us penetrate into the green-room of the Colonial Department, and we shall find the language there, to be of a different cast, and of which the following might be a tolerably correct specimen. “Well, these troublesome Canadas have got Responsible Government from us; we could not help giving it to them, it is true; but isn’t it funny? it won’t do them one pennyworth of good. They will never pull together—not they; but they will fight like winking. By-and-bye they will get enough of it, and grow weary of the game; then, like dutiful children, they will come to us to arrange their squabbles for them—which we can do upon our own terms. Meanwhile we need not be idle; we can secretly embarrass their measures; we can depress their Stocks, keep their Banks from active operations, and thwart them in a hundred ways they know nothing about. We have played the game dozens of times, with our wiseacre children; and they, poor fools, never knew what we were at, the whole time. It will go hard with us, indeed, who have outwitted half the subtle politicians of Europe, and were more than a match for the other half—who counterminded Talleyrand, bamboozled Metternich, and quizzed Guizot—it will go hard with us, indeed, who have done all this, if we can’t manage a few unruly Colonists, and mould them to our will. They think they govern themselves, don’t they? but we’ll show them they only play Punch and Judy, and so catch the eye of the crowd, while it is we alone who pull the check strings, and set them in motion.”

Independent, honest, hard-working yeomanry of Canada West—you have had the Union for eight years, and what are you the better of it? what have you got in return for the insults and injuries you have sustained, from hands which should mete you out nothing but benefits? Merchants of Canada West—you also have had the Union for eight years: it promised you great and lasting benefits—has it made you more prosperous? is your trade increasing? Capitalists of Canada West—the Union was likewise for your good: do your houses rent as well as hitherto? are your tenants equally as punctual at quarter day? are your land speculations as sound? how do your town properties sell? Statesmen of Canada West—you told us the Union would give us railways, good roads, education for our children, national credit; and now eight years—nearly the one-twelfth of a long century—has elapsed, and where are all these things? Echo answers, “where!”

Do not be deceived, my countrymen; your interests are not interwoven with the Union. You are told to have patience, and by-and-bye the increase in your population will turn the tide in your favor, and give you a majority in the Provincial Parliament. But glance across the Atlantic, and you will find, that the Home Government thinks you are large and troublesome enough already; and that it is at this moment seeking to divert the stream of emigration from your shores, to swell the millions of another country, to whom she gives her surplus money and her surplus population, in preference to you. The same insidious policy which labored to bound the American Colonies, is now in operation amongst you. You cannot see its course, perhaps; you cannot follow it through all its sinuous windings; nevertheless, it is not accomplishing its object the less surely.

Already matters begin to wear a most unprosperous appearance. Trade declines, business is at a dead stop, money grows scarcer and scarcer, bankruptcy becomes common, shops are shut in every town and village, debtors run off to the United States, English capitalists look sour at our stocks, while the American are at ten per cent. premium, and the wealthy emigrant turns aside from our shores, and gives to the Yankees, the three things we most want, namely: men, women, and money.

And what under-current, we would ask, has brought this state of things about? One may answer this, another may answer that; but we say, the true solution of

the question will be found somewhere behind the curtain which screens the secret councils of the Colonial Office from the public eye. Those councils, which, as surely as the sun shines above us, will neutralise every measure of our Responsible Government, by secret operations upon our funds, and by Machiavellian intrigue—those councils, which cause our magnificent inland seas and stately canals to be of little or no use to us—those councils, which keep our stocks below zero, and which would still keep us poor, although we had the £3,500,000 expended on railways, which Mr. Hincks is going to borrow for us one of these days, on very questionable security—those councils, which have expended millions in Ireland, in spoiling public roads and public morals, without constructing one useful public work—those councils, we say, which have ever inculcated and enforced the doctrine of absolute Colonial dependence, and put that doctrine into practice, either by intrigue, by corruption, or by force.

And now, fellow Colonists, in conclusion, we would address a few words to you in our own behalf. We have endeavored, to the best of our abilities, to place before you the working of a system which affects you for evil, at this moment, and will affect your children after you, in a still greater degree, perhaps, than it does yourselves; yet do not take our words upon trust: enquire for yourselves, recollecting always, that your political destinies are in your own hands, and that "God helps them that help themselves." Our great object is, to originate a thorough spirit of inquiry in your breasts, or, at the least, to stimulate some more able writer than ourselves to do so. That object once achieved, no matter by whom, your political regeneration immediately ensues; and then your villages will be converted into cities, fair towns will arise in the wilderness, railways will divide your forests, trade and commerce will flourish, men will come forward to loan you money, who now will not risk a shilling; and in after years your children and your children's children will look with pride on the constitutional fabric you have, with your own hands, reared for them. Canada will then, indeed, be a nation; and if there is division among her sons, it will be the division of generous emulation, struggling for her benefit.

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